DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 305 686 CS 506 592

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TITLE A Media Metaphors Analysis of Negative Television Campaign Commercials in Campaign '88.
PUB DATE Apr 89
NOTE 39p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Central States Communication Association (Kansas City, MO, April 13-16, 1989).
PUB TYPE Speeches/Conference Papers (150) -- Reports - Research/Technical (143)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Communication Research; Content Analysis; Mass Media Role; Mass Media Use; *Models; *Nonverbal Communication; *Presidential Campaigns (United States); Rhetorical Criticism; *Television Commercials; Television Research
IDENTIFIERS *Media Metaphors; *Political Advertising; Political Rhetoric

ABSTRACT

This paper argues that in presidential politics new and highly sophisticated image-building techniques and the technological means for creating messages have proliferated during the past twenty years. The paper claims that the area where the most "image-building" is conducted is the television spot advertisement, but points out that there are few analytical tools for dealing with the television spot announcement. The paper suggests that an analytical tool which does attempt to uncover potential meanings in such messages is the "Media Metaphor" which relies on the meaning which seem to emerge from the "non-discursive" elements of televised spot announcements. The paper reports on a Media Metaphors analysis of negative campaign spots used in Campaign '88, conducted in order to get at these non-discursive message elements of the broadcast media such as color, camera movement, sound and sound effects, musical score, special effects, and others. A brief description of the methodology and an example application are provided. Then the Media Metaphors methodology is applied to one of the positive television spots used in the campaign and to several of the "negative" spots of the campaign. The paper concludes that the Media Metaphor concept and methodology should be extended to determine their value in deconstructing meanings in product and ideologically oriented spot announcements as well as in politically oriented spots. (One table of data and four figures are included.) (MS)

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A Media Metaphors Analysis of Negative Television Campaign Commercials in Campaign '88

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(A paper delivered to the 1989 convention of

the Central States Communication Association

Kansas City, Missouri, April, 1989)

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While presidential politics has always involved the creation of an "image" for the candidates, the sophistication of this process has only recently captured the research interests of communication scholars and critics. Aside from the research done on "The Great Debates" of the 1960 campaign, the topic of image building was largely ignored until the campaign of 1968 when Joe McGinnis published his zippsy best seller The Selling of the President: 1968. The Political Communication interest group in I.C.A. wasn't formed until the early 1970s, and the task forces of S.C.A. which deal with political communication weren't formed until the 1980s. CSCA does not yet have a political communication interest group in 1989, and none is being proposed for the future.

At the same time, new and highly sophisticated image-building techniques and the technological means for creating messages has increased many times over since 1968. We now hear of "sound bites," "spin doctors," "orchestrating the media," and a host of other image-building innovations. The area where the most "image-building" is conducted and certainly where the bulk of political image-building dollars goes is the 60 and 30 second television spot advertisement. Yet we have few analytical tools for dealing with the television spot announcement, and we see little or no

systematic analysis of the symbolic dimensions or communication effects of these short messages.

A major problem in analyzing television spot advertisements is that their discursive messages are so short. An analytical tool which does attempt to uncover potential meanings in such messages is the "Media Metaphor" which relies on the meanings which seem to emerge from the non-discursive elements of televised spot announcements.1

Nowhere in the recent past was the difference between skilled and unskilled image-building more clearly demonstrated than in the television spots of the presidential campaign of 1988. George Bush's team of imasge builders (headed by political consultant Roger Ailes) were well-seasoned and sophisticated while the Michael Dukakis' staff was often changing and typified by disagreements as to what image was to be built and how to go about building it. In the end, Dukakis took over this task himself and developed a series of lengthy and often boring "talking h ead" spots. This paper argues that some of the difference in the two images which were created can be attributed to the presence or lack of "Media Metaphors" in the spots of both candidates. Further, the use of media metaphors seems to be particularly necessary in negative or "attack"

television spots such as those which typified the political advertising of Campaign '88.

The Import of Non-Discursive Message Elements

In his book, The Power Game: How Washington Works2, author Hedrick Smith outlines many of these metaphorical developments. Hedrick notes that, ". . .for lasting impact, the Reagan team created a storybook presidency, staging events with irresistable visual appeal." In his book (and the PBS 4-part documentary based on it) Hedrick offers numerous examples of how this "visual" emphasis created key symbolic meanings. Hedrick interviewed Reagan advance man, William Henkle who discussed several of the non-discursive message elements he used to create symbolic metaphors which developed the Reagan image in regard to several issues. For instance, to develop an image of a "tough military posture," Henkle tells (and the documentary shows) how flats were painted to look like sandbags around a bunker. The flats were used as a backdrop for a tough-line military preparedness speech supposedly delivered by Reagan to soldiers at the DMZ in South Korea. The effect created by the flats was enhanced by having Reagan wear an olive-drab parka and flack jacket over his suit and tie and by moving

some armament into the foreground with helmeted "troops" listening attentively. Henkle says,

> "We did it outdoors in a created environment. With the tanks and personel carriers, we created a stage."

When asked if the staged event didn't have a "little Hollywood" in it, he replied, "No, A lot of Hollywood." Reagan, himself, remarked on the artificially created setting saying, "It looks a lot like a Hollywood backlot. . .and isn't any more important."3

Network correspondent, Sam Donaldson, verifies this staged visual quality of presidential image building by the Reagan staff. The images fed to the media during the Moscow Summit was, Donaldson noted, :

> ". . .great theatre. . .a visual collage of Reagan's day. . .Irresistably it is the pictures that drive us . . .who are you going to believe--words or pictures? . . .they discovered, this bunch in the White House, that a picture is worth a thousand facts."4

An election eve "Nightline" Special entitled "The 1988 Campaign: Who's to Blame" makes an important point about the appetite that viewers seem to have for material that is dramatic, visually interesting, and potentially "media metaphorical. When asked whether there would be any story on Reagan on aparticular evening during the campaign, James Baker, (then Bush's campaign chairman) reported that a network producer told a member of the staff,

> "We're not putting a story on tonight. You didn't have any sound bites and you didn't attack Dukakis"5

Lesley Stahl reported a similar example from the 1984 campaign. She had done a story which featured Ronald Reagan at the Handicapped Olympics which made the ironic point that the shots of the president with the handicapped children "hid" the real story--Reagan had tried to cut the budget for programs for the handicapped. Not wanting to antagonize her White House sources, she contacted them regarding the piece. She expected chastisement, but instead her sources thanked her profusely saying,

> "We loved it, we loved it, we loved it./sic/ Thank you very much. It was an unpaid five-minute commercial for our campaign. . . .Nobody heard what you said. They just saw the five minutes of beautiful pictures of Ronald Reagan. They saw the balloons, they saw the flags, they saw the red, white and blue./sic/ Haven't you figured out yet that the picture always overrides what you say?. . ."6

Henkle reinforces both the Donaldson and the Stahl examples and definitively details how important non-discursive material is in creating metaphorical meaning to develop the right image using modern electronic media. In discussing his search for a perfect setting for the final Reagan/Gorbachov meeting at the Geneva Summit, Henkle says,

> "We understood all along that this was an important symbolic meeting--very symbolic. I wanted to create something where the two men could do some spontaneous activities. . .and to me it became some sort of metaphor for the whole trip--for me it was a fireplace. I was looking for some sort of symbol these two men could sit around and talk. . . .When I discovered the Chateau Fleur Deau on the shores of Lake Geneva, I really hit a home run. . . .a whole

wall of stones and fireplace.7

Clearly, non-discursive elements in electronic media have the ability to communicate powerful meanings--often more powerful than the discursive elements. In order to get at these non-discursive message elements of the broadcast media such as color, camera movement, sound and sound effects, musical score, special effects and others, a media metaphors analysis of negative campaign spots used in Campaign '88 will be conducted. A brief description of the methodology and an example application follows. Then the media Metaphors methodology is applied to one of the positive spots used in campaign and to several of the "negative" television spots of the 1988 presidential campaign.

Media Metaphors Analysis Methodology

There are several problems in using some of the traditional tools of rhetorical criticicism to investigate audience-created meanings in television spot announcements. One problem is that traditional tools of analysis are generally intended for extended pieces of discursive material. Most political and product-oriented television spots are 30 seconds or less in length and frequently use little or even no discourse other than the legally required

disclaimer at the end of the spot. They may simply be a set of visual images accompanied by a musical score and may contain only a few or even no actual announcer copy. Quite obviously, the various languages of audio-visual communication such as special effects, camera and lense work, color, setting, movement and other non-verbal messages are at work. However, the traditional critic is limited to only a few bits of discursive material upon which to conduct any kind of analysis of the process and/or effects of the television spot. Naturally, these limitations are further extended in any analysis of the mediated campaign as a whole.

While traditional tools do take some non-verbal message factors into account in the public speech (e.g., gestures, posture, eye contact, etc.), they rarely if ever include the non-verbal elements which one might typically find in any television spot--those on behalf of products as well as candidates. Furthermore, the audio-visual "languages" are not readily available to the critic using traditional methods, nor are they very well-documented, organized, or discursive. As a result they remain obscure and uninterpreted by traditional means, even if the critic has a complete audio and video transcript of the ad.

The Media Metaphors model grows out of the work of Tony Schwartz and his concept of "Evoked Recall."8 This idea shares many characteristics of several models of conscious and sub-conscious memory such as the "Person Memory Model" suggested by Wyer and Carlston in which small message elements excite large memory networks. This process, resembling a chain reaction, similar to the reality and fantasy link "chaining" described by Bormann and his followers.9

The basic premise of the concept of a "Media Metaphor" is that, just as certain words in discourse (e.g., "face") serve as vehicles for other concepts (e.g., "clock"), certain non-verbal elements of political campaign commercials (see above) serve as the "vehicles" for metaphorical meaning(s) of various "tenors" being suggested to the viewer. These combinations result in a visual metaphor which may be as or more persuasive and meaningful than the discursive metaphors in the ad which are limited by time constraints. For example, consider the following: a red question mark which zooms in and out of a television spot between discursive questions about a candidate's beliefs or policies. The non-discursive color red, coupled with the question mark communicates a metaphorical "meaning"

which suggests that the candidate may have radical leftist leanings or may even be a closet communist.

Music, sound effects and skillful editing can also contribute to media metaphorical meaning. For example, one of the earliest (and certainly the most famous) "media metaphors" used in a Presidential campaign spot was the 1964 "Daisy" spot aired only once by the Lyndon Johnson/Hubert Humphrey campaign in 1964. Its intent was to communicate the metaphorical message that Barry Goldwater was trigger happy regarding the use of nuclear weapons in Vietnam. The footage of little girl counting petals of a daisy as she pulls them off is followed by the freeze frame footage of her at the tenth and final petal which is accompanied by a reverberating countdown for the detonation of an atomic weapon which is accompanied by sound effects indicating an explosion of great magnitude. The frozen image of the little girl dissolves to a growing mushroom-shaped cloud as the voice of Lyndon Johnson urges voters to cast a ballot for peace and light instead of for death and darkness. The vehicles of sound (such as the reverberating quality of the countdown, or the "sound" of the explosion), skilled editing (the dissolve to the mushroom-shaped cloud using the little girl's eyeball as a background), and setting/action (the slow and menacing growth of the ugly cloud itself) create

several "media metaphors" which communicate the complex message that voting for Barry Goldwater is equivilent to voting for nuclear annihilation.

If the critic wanted to conduct a media metaphors analysis of that famous political spot, the first step in using the media metaphors methodology would be to create a "media metaphor matrix" such as that shown below. Note that the three major discursive elements of the message are listed across the horizontal axis at the top. The potentially meaningful non-discursive elements are listed along the vertical axis. Of course there might be several kinds of such non-discursive elements in a given cell, and they could be operating in isolation to create meaning or they could work in concert with other non-discursive elements simultaneously to develop a complex meaning in a very short space of time. Without using such a matrix to identify non-discursive structures in the "text" of the ad, it is extremely difficult to reveal and isolate such structures. It is even more difficult to probe their relationship(s) with the discursive message elements or to label the possible media metaphors in which these non-discursive elements serve as tenor or vehicle. The matrix allows the critic to clearly identify and critically probe most if not all of the potential meanings which might

be metaphorically and non-discursively "called up" from the audience's memory network by technical message elements in the spot.

Media Metaphors Matrix: "Daisy" Spot

Non-Discursive Message Elements / Discursive Message Elements	Little Girl counts to ten	Countdown 10,9,8. .	LBJ's statement on nuclear weapons & Mushroom cloud seen Reflected/girl's eye
Visuals--e.g., set, props, costume, camera work, freeze, etc.	Cell 4	Cell 5	Cell 6
Audio-- verbal ("hot" or "cool words)	Cell 7	Cell 8	Cell 9
Audio-- non-verbal (e.g., music, sound effects, vocal quality)	Cell 10	Cell 11	Cell 12
Other	(Cell 13.		Cell n)

In other words, there are at least 12, and possibly more, potential media metaphors which might be identified using this matrix. For example, in Cell 1, the discursive counting being done by the little girl is accompanied by a non-discursive and placid setting--a hill of wildflowers and a little girl. The media metaphor which the audience(s) might develop from this cell is "A World at Peace". In cell 5, however, this peace is called into question by the non-discursive camera messages of freezing action and zooming-in on the little girl's eye which ask the viewer to stop and take a deeper look. Further, in cell 11 this "questioning metaphor" is underscored by the reverberating and menacing quality of the voice of the man counting down to the detonation of the nuclear weapon, while in cell 6, the mushroom cloud seen reflected in the closeup of the little girl's eye is a media metaphor which says that "The Future Is at Stake" when casting a vote in 1964.

Using such a matrix and doing a frame-by-frame analysis of the non-discursive material in a spot can reveal even more complex and symbolic meanings which otherwise might be overlooked and remain hidden by the critic rfelying on discursive material alone. In fact that was what was done with one Bush presidential campaign spot aired early in the 1988 general election. Roger Ailes assembled a series of

image-oriented ad spots using footage from Bush's acceptance address, the convention hoopla, and shots from less formal occasions which featured Bush doing the kind of things "Kind and better" Americans do with and for their families, neighbors, and country. There was footage of George playing with the grandchildren, George at a family reunion, George being rescued at sea, George climbing aboard a submarine in the Pacific during W.W. II, and so on. From this non-discursive material, Ailes created one of the most artful ads of the campaign. It was entitled, "The Future" in its opening shot. Bush ads usually aired the title of the spot for 1-2 seconds to "frame" the message which the audience was about to receive.

The verbal or the discursive elements of the spot are vague and ambiguous, but its visual and metaphoric meaning was designed to trigger audience memory nets in a variety of ways--all designed to enhance the "Kinder Gentler" image. Consider the following description of the ad:

> The ad begins with the words "The Future" emerging on the screen in a defocus/focus from a misty background. This "frames" the ad in Schwartz's words and prepares the viewer to be ready to see a vision of "the future." A small girl with golden curls is seen running in slow motion through a field of wild flowers with a delightful smile on her face. The musical bed expresses a romantic and idealistic mood. As the title fades, a "star" with five points of light is reflected in the little girl's left eye. This effect is created by using a "starburst" filter on the

recording camera. As the five points of light get larger, we hear the voice of Bush saying:"I want a Kinder and gentler America." As he speaks, the slow motion running of the girl dissolves to the convention hall. The five points of the "star" are now superimposed over the upper left corner of the screen where the speaker's podium is located. As spotlights illuminate the crowds, the "star" is multiplied many times over by other "stars," each with its own five points of light. These are caused by flash bulbs popping throughout the hall. One persistent star is in the center of the crowd and screen. It remains on in all convention footage. We sense an air of excitement as the announcer says "It is the President who defines the character of America." The crowd shot dissolves to a close-up shot of a smiling George Bush who is waving to the crowd. His voice is heard again saying, "I'm a quiet man, but I hear the quiet people others don't--" As his face dissolves into a typical American kitchen, we see a father taking corn-on-the-cob from an old fashioned canning kettle to feed his family. There are children around him. Bush continues, ". . .the ones who raise the families, pay the taxes. . ." The kitchen shot dissolves to Bush eating a hot dog at a family picnic. He is dressed in a denim work shirt and blue jeans, seated on the ground. His grandchildren run up to him and hug him around the neck as he laughs, his mouth full of hot dog and bun. This shot dissolves to Bush, again at the podium in convention hall giving his acceptance speech. The viewer realizes that we have been listening to the speech. He continues, ". . .who meet the mortgage (pause), and I am moved." He nods to the audience in the hall, and they cheer him and wave. We hear the announcer saying "The President--the heart, the soul, the conscience of the nation." During this comment, the podium shot dissolves to Bush catching up the first little running girl in his arms and lifting her skyward as in praise.

The music fades as we see a shot of Bush lifting the child (actually his grandaughter) skyward as if in offering. The child is a metaphor for "The Future" to which Bush is dedicated. The screen fades to the words "George Bush--Experienced Leadership for America's Future." and the usual political disclaimer.

The metaphorical vehicles here are clear--the emergence of the words "The Future" from the mist serves as a vehicle for the tenor of Bush's message--he is the best choice for the future. The music serves as a tenor for the vague and heroic and oft-repeated phrase of the speech--the reference to "a thousand points of light." The phrase was later explained by Bush and his team to refer to the individual spirit of the everyday Americans and their willingness to volunteer to help their neighbors. These were also the Americans who repeatedly were depicted as the "Everyday Heroes" of America by the Reagan Presidency. The viewer realizes that the common man will continue to be the hero in "The Future" under a Bush Presidency.

The dissolve to the father (actually Bush himself if you examine the spot rame-by-frame) serving up the corn on the cob is the vehicle for a metaphor depicting the "Common Man" aspects of the candidate. The visual tenors reinforce the nearly meaningless discursive abstractions of the acceptance speech (e.g., the statement that Bush hears the quiet voices of the voters who raise families and pay taxes and mortgages). The visual vehicles of the running child, the sparkling "points of light" and Bush with the children at the picnic as well as the final shots of him lifting his grandaughter bear little <u>logical</u> relationship to the

announcer's words about the President as "the heart, the soul, and the conscience of the country," but they cue powerful metaphoric emotional meanings from the audiences' memory networks. The discursive elements of the commercial are the tenors of media metapors which use the heroic music and visual actions and camera work as vehicles. Bush has heart (the children just love him); he has soul (he is moved by "the comman man"), and he has a conscience (he holds "the future" high on his agenda). The use of his grandaughter at the end of the commercial (whom we saw in slow motion at the beginning of the commercial) also creates a metaphor of symmetry--the message has come full circle in an abbreviated 30-second dramatic vignette. It closes with the most discursive and logical part of the ad--the name "George Bush" and the slogan of the campaign--"Experienced Leadership for America's Future."

Media Metaphors in Some Negative ads of Campaign '88

The ad entitled "The Future" and others like it from both the Bush and the DuKaKis campaigns are similar in that they portray a positive image of the candidates using the words of the two acceptance speeches and the footage of the convention as the tenors in media metaphors whose vehicles involve camera work, music and other non-discursive message elements. However, as we all know, the campaign of 1989 was not entirely positive. In late September and October, highly negative ads appeared. In fact they became the most distinctive feature of the campaign--one which led to voter outrage and media criticism. For example, the Newsweek cover of October 31st pictured DuKaKis and Bush slinging mudpies at one another while microphones and cameras recorded the battle. Even the candidates admitted that the entire campaign was the most negative in recent times. And a Chicago Tribune editorial observed:

> If civility, truth and honor were the first casualties of this unsavory contest, they will likely be the last . . . .should the media. . .ever come close to publishing or broadcasting as part of their reportage the twisted contexts, the deliberate distortions, and the plain lies the candidates so eagerly heap upon one another in their speeches and commercials, the screams from their political camps would rend the heavens . . . .Negative advertising has become "effective," "a fixture." . . . .Nobody loses but the voter--and the presidency. Of course whichever ticket wins, someone's going to have to hose them down so they won't leave too

many stains on the Oval Office.8

Negative Ads of the Bush/Quayle Campaign

Perhaps the most "famous" of the Bush/Quayle negative ads were those in a series called "The Risks". The title of the most effective of these ads in influencing voter opinion was "The DuKaKis Prison Furlough Program."9 It featured revolving doors and criticized the DuKaKis record on the prison furlough program in Massachusetts. The discursive and non-discursive elements of the ad were as follows:

> The sound of a low bass rumble reverberates as the ad opens with a shot taken in black and white. Someone is climbing a tower. It could be a water tower. The words "The DuKaKis Prison Furlough Program" appear on the screen in a bar. The rumble continues, and the camera zooms out. We discover that it is a guard tower at a maximum security prison. The announcer's voice says, "As Michael DuKaKis vetoed mandatory sentences for drug dealers. . ." The screen dissolves to a slow motion shot of an overweight prison guard patrolling the perimeter of a brick wall at the prison. He has a weapon at port arms and is heading for the guard tower we saw earlier. The brick wall of the prison is topped with coils of barbed wire. The announcer's voice continues, ". . .he vetoed the death penalty. . ." The bass rumble continues, but now we also hear endless metallic sounds--like the clanking of chains. They could be from leg-irons on prisoners. The announcer's voice is heard saying, ". . .his revolving door. . ." The screen is dissolves to a many-tiered turnstile like those we sometimes see in subway stations with an endless line of men in prison dress slowly march through the turnstile. They are expressionless automatons. The announcer goes on, ". . .prison policy gave weekend furloughs to first degree murderers not eligible for parole." The words "268 escaped" are chyroned in a colorized "row" on the screen. As the viewer is reading the words

the announcer says, ". . .while out, many committed other crimes like kidnapping and rape. . ." The "prisoners" continue shuffling through the turnstile and the words "Many are still at large" are chyroned on the screen. The rumbling and clanking sounds become slightly louder. The announcer continues, ". . .many are still at large. Now Michael DuKaKis. . ." The screen dissolves back to the prison tower, but now we also see a guard with a machine gun or rifle stationed on the roof of a nearby building. The Bush/Quayle disclaimer appears at the top of the screen, while the announcer concludes saying, ". . .says he wants to do for America what he did for Massachussetts. America can't afford that risk." The screen fades to black. The media metaphor matrix for this spot is shown below as Figure 1:

Figure 1: Prison Furlough Spot

Discursive Message Elements / Non-Discur. Message Elements	Veto of sentences	Veto of Death.	Revolving Door pol.	Future crimes	DuK/Extend Policy/USA
"Rumble" sound eff.	Cell 1	Cell 2	Cell 3	Cell 4	Cell 5
Camera Zooms out to reveal Prison	Cell 6	Cell 7	Cell 8	Cell 9	Cell 10
Dissol to Guard on Perimeter	Cell 11	Cell 12	Cell 13	Cell 14	Cell 15
Sound eff. of Chains Clanking	Cell 16	Cell 17	Cell 18	Cell 19	Cell 20
Dissolve to "turn-stile" and prisoners	Cell 21	Cell 22	Cell 23	Cell 24	Cell 25
Chyron-- "268 escaped"	Cell 26	Cell 27	Cell 28	Cell 29	Cell 30
Continue Turnstile	Cell 31	Cell 32	Cell 33	Cell 34	Cell 35
Chyron-- Many. . . at large"	Cell 36	Cell 37	Cell 38	Cell 39	Cell 40
Dissolve to prison wall with more guards	Cell 41	Cell 42	Cell 43	Cell 44	Cell 45

As can be seen from Figure 1, there are 45 possible cells where one or more "media metaphors" might emerge in this spot. For example, since the low rumbling sound effect continues throughout the spot, theoretically it could potentially create 45 slightly varying metaphors in each of the 45 cells, though this would be unlikely. Together with the title of the series of spots, this metaphorical "bed" seems to indicate some "Sinister Forboding" or some similar fearful image. In Cell 6 of Figure 1, the camera zooms out to reveal a maximum security prison. The "Sinister Forboding" metaphor now seems extended by the zoom out to re-emerge as a "Sinister Prison Risks" media metaphor. In this cell then, the non-discursive "media metaphors" interact to carry at least as much as and possibly more potential meaning than does the discursive message element: "As Michael DuKaKis vetoed mandatory prison sentences,. . ." Beyond this underlying metaphor of forboding, there are several other"media metaphors" which are present:

1. A "Sinister Forboding" metaphor created throughout the spot (Cells 1-45) by the rumble sound effect;
2. A "Sinister Prison Risks" due to the "zoom out" in Cells 6 and 10. This extends the "Sinister Forboding" metaphor in # 1 above in an interaction effect.
3. An "Increased Vigilance" metaphor is created by the dissolve to the guards on the perimeter in Cells 11 and 12 and to the prison wall with increased guards in Cell 45. "Increased Vigilance" is a potential

solution to the problem posed by the forboding metaphors of 1 & 2 discussed above

4. An "Endless Servitude" metaphor is created by the vehicle of clanking chains or leg irons in Cells 16-40. It is unclear who is enslaved--the prisoners (who art so dangerous that they must wear leg irons or society which will be enslaved to a lifelong servitude of danger from released prisoners. And it is possible that both meanings exist as an underlying metaphor in the spot.
5. A "Revolving Door Policy" metaphor is created by the vehicle of the automaton-like prisoners passing through the turnstile into and then immediately out of the prison. It interacts with the discursive metaphor of the same name. It underscores and reinforces media metaphors 1, 2, & 4 above making clear that it is the public and not the criminal who is being doomed to "Endless Servitude".
6. The chyroned "268 escaped" is discursive, but it interacts with the "Revolving Door Policy" metaphor in # 3 above to reinforce the negative aspects of the policy.
7. The chyroned "Many at large" is also discursive but acts to reinforce # 3 as was the case with the chyroned words in # 6 above.
8. There may be other interpretations which could extend or alter this analysis.

It is clear that the ad is far richer in potential meaning than one might deduce using the discursive script alone. In fact, where the discursive message elements describe DuKaKis's past policies and shortcomings, the pictoral and auditory non-discursive message elements and the resulting "media metaphors" carry the most significant and emotionally motivating meanings.

Another negative ad from the Bush/Quayle campaign from "The Risks." series focuses on "The Tax Risk" instead opf the prison risk theme. It also features "The Common People"

who were the focus of Bush's "The Future" series discussed above. However, here "The Commom Person" is not the hero but the victims. They are the central characters from the first visual following the opening title of the spot:

> A middle-aged, slightly dumpy and overweight couple are seated side-by-side on a sofa. They appear to be paging through a photo album. The announcer's voice says, "Michael DuKaKis says he won't rule out a tax increase if elected president." We hear discordant electronic music under the announcer's voice as the camera dollies in and pans right. Now we see only the wife and the end table which stands next to the sofa. A picture of a wedding couple stands on the table. There is a coffee cup sitting on two books. The voice says, "He speaks from experience. . ." As the camera continues to pan right, it zooms in on the mail slot in the front door which is to the right of the table. We see an envelope begin to slide through the slot as we hear the announcer say, "As Governor, he passed the largest tax increase in the history of Massachusetts." We see the envelope fly beyond the door to land on the floor. The camera tilts down to inspect the envelope. It is brown and windowed--like a bill envelope. The words "Important Tax Information Enclosed!" are on the bottom. The envelope looks official in spite of this "teaser." The camera tilts back up to the mail slot. Now an identical brown envelope is sliding through the slot. Swooshing sound effects play to accompany the speed of the envelope. The anouncer says ". . .passed a DuKaKis Surtax of 363 million dollars. . ." Another envelope is heard and seen sliding through the mail slot. The announcer continues, ". . .He raised taxes on interest. . ." Yet another envelope is seen and heard coming through the slot. The announcer's voice continues ". . .dividends. . ." Yet another envelope is seen and heard ". . .meals and corporate taxes. . ." Envelopes are now swooshing through the slot in rapid fire. They are accumulating into a noticable pile. The announcer's voice says, ". . .the state income tax. . . and then raised sales and corporate taxes." the envelopes are now coming through the slot in a stream we can hardly see . The pile is getting larger. The announcer continues saying, "And now he wants to do

for America what he did for Massachusetts." The camera cuts to the middle-aged couple looking at one another in disbelief. The announcer concludes by saying "America can't affort that kind of risk." The final shots are of a huge pile of envelopes and the political disclaimer at the top of the screen.

Figure 2: Tax Envelope Risk

Non-Discursive Message Elements / Discursive Message Elements	Duk. won't Rule out Tax Incr.	He speaks from experience	As Gov. largest tax incr.	Tax e.g.'s	Same for USA
Couple/ Album	Cell 1	Cell 2	Cell 3	Cell 4	Cell 5
Dolly-in/ Pan left	Cell 6	Cell 7	Cell 8	Cell 9	Cell 10
Zoom mail slot	Cell 11	Cell 12	Cell 13	Cell 14	Cell 15
Envelope Effect	Cell 16	Cell 17	Cell 18	Cell 19	Cell 20
"Swoosh" Sound-effect	Cell 21	Cell 22	Cell 23	Cell 24	Cell 25
Official-looking envelope/ Imp. Tax. Info	Cell 26	Cell 27	Cell 28	Cell 29	Cell 30
Overwhelming repetition of Envelope Effect	Cell 31	Cell 32	Cell 33	Cell 34	Cell 35
Look of Disbelief by Couple	Cell 36	Cell 37	Cell 38	Cell 39	Cell 40

In analyzing the non-discursive elements of "The Tax Envelope Risk," the first metaphor--"Broken Security" emerges beginning with the middle-aged couple looking over their photo album. This visual image of nostalgia doesn't fit with the disturbing discursive statement that Michael Dukakis won't rule out a possible tax increase. Having "made it" to that time when their children are gone, the "common people" now face a new risk to their security--a Dukakis tax hike. This metaphor begins and ends the spot thus serving as a "framing device" for a large segment of the voting populace. Other media metaphors in this televison spot include:

1. A "Closer Look" media metaphor is cued by the camera as it dollies in and pans right. The camera "tells" the viewer that there is a reason for taking another look, for the security of their middle years is at risk. This meaning is most prominant in cells 6 and 7 but may recur in cells 38-40 where their looks of disbelief interact as vehicles with the discursive revelation of the Dukakis record.
2. An "Impersonal Government" created by the camera's zoom to the mail slot and the "swooshing envelope" effect. Neither the couple nor the viewer knows who is sending the envelopes, and neither has much control over the deliveries.
3. The **brown envelope** indicates a metaphorical meaning of "Governmental Communication--Probably from the I.R.S." The camera tells us to take a "Closer Look" at the words on the envelope. They say "Important Tax Information Enclosed" and motivate opening by the real recipient. In this television spot, the words and color of the envelope combine to build the media metaphor referring to the I.R.S.
4. The "swooshing" sound and the never-ending stream and mountainous build-up of envelopes serve as

vehicles for a media metaphor of "Mushrooming and Government." This metaphor is linked with the Dukakis record of government in Massachusetts. The implication is that the same thing will occur for all average Americans if Dukakis is elected. This media metaphoric message in cells 6-35 is the underlying metaphor for the entire ad and is discursively stated in the verbal conclusion of the ad--"And now he wants to do for America what he did for Massachusetts. America can't afford that kind of risk."

Negative Ads in the Dukakis/Bengtson Campaign

A major criticism of the advertising used by the Dukakis/Bengtson campaign was that it mainly consisted of "talking head" spots of Dukakis which bored even the most enthusiastic supporters. These spots which attacked the negative policy of the Bush campaign messages were visually uninteresting and as a result had little non-discursive rhetorical material from which media metaphors might be inferred and analyzed. This power of visual material to create media metaphors was ignored the Dukakis negative spot creators for the most part.

While the Dukakis/Bengtson campaign did not initially react or respond to the Bush/Quayle ads until late in the campaign (a critical campaign error according to some sources), their efforts were reactive instead of proactive; usually uninteresting from a media metaphors point of view; and sometimes were probably confusing to the voters.

Good examples of these confusing ads were part of an expensively produced and aired series called "The Packaging of George Bush." They were so obtuse and overly sophisticated as to be confusing at best--metaphorically, they tried to say that Bush was a puppet in the hands of sleazy media managers who were wrapping him in the flag, mother, and apple pie only to repeat meaningless slogans over and over again. A typical ad from this series is "Thursday 2:34 p.m." Its discursive and non-discursive script is as follows:

> The title of the series "The Packaging of George Bush" appears in white against a black background. The picture dissolves to a darkened room. The camera angle is low. It looks "up" at a group of about eight men--mostly young "Yuppie" types. They are in shirtsleeves with ties loosened, suitjackets off, and have their sleeves rolled up. Most of the men are seated around a table. The "Boss" is older and is overweight. He looks especially "Establishment"and is standing next to the table. In an "Eastern" dialect, he says "And the commercial is going to make Bush <u>LOOK</u> like a strong, experienced leader." with a clear emphasis on the word "look." The others nod in agreement. One says "Okay" as another member of the group hands the "Boss" a piece of paper which he glances at briefly. A younger member of the group says in a cynical tone of voice "Oh, Yeh. I can see it now. Head of the President's Task Force on Drugs--drug traffic goes up 400%." A middle-aged man--also cynical--adds, "And General Noriega was on the payroll." The "Boss" reprimands him slightly with a "Very amusing. . ." The young cynic continues, "Bush was head of the President's Task Force on Terrorism too, while they made deals to send missles to the Ayatollah." The middle-aged cynic looks off into space and dreamily says, "Bush--Strong. . . . Experienced." The "Boss" glares at the man and says "That's not funny." An announcer's voice says "They'd

like to sell you a package. Wouldn't You Rather Choose a President?" accompanied by a Dukakis/Bengtson disclaimer.

If these spots contained any media metaphors, they were "mixed metaphor" at best. The spots shows us a supposedly closed-door meeting of Bush media managers who express their doubts that the slick packaging tricks will work. The problem is that from the viewer's point of view, there is confusion as to whose media managers these actually are--Bush's or Dukakis's? The audience is left baffled as to the overall meaning of the ad. Incidentally, the ads in this series of negative spots were the most discursive and logical, dense with evidence, and issue-oriented in terms of the verbal scripts, but they may have been the least effective and most confusing to the voter in terms of their non-discursive audio and visual metaphors. Newsweek noted that critics rated the ads as "Too complicated. . .Too inside. Voters won't get it. . . .Either much too subtle or incredibly brilliant."10 The only obvious media metaphors in this series are the use of sleazy-looking and talking campaign planners which may have communicated a message that "Bush Equals Backroom Politics." The use of a visual device--the day and exact time chyroned on the screen were puzzling may have prompted receiver meanings such as, "Why is it Thursday and why is it 2:34 p.m.?" A potentially metaphoric meaning is that this visual device cues the

audience to treat the ad as really it is an authentic behind-the-scenes "documentary," but even this interpretation is stretching the media metaphor definition.

While the content of the discourse by the media planners focuses on issues and facts, there is very little audio-visual material to reinforce and "metaphorize" these issues. for examklple, there is no musical background or sound effects. The camera is relatively stationary throughout, and there are no special effects or visuals other than the smoke-filled room. In fact, if one were to ake a chart as has been done for the other spots, most if not all of the cells would be left open or "empty" of metaphoric meaning. Perhaps, political spots which ignore creating media metaphors to reinforce their major points/issues are destined to be difficult to understand and inherently uninteresting. It is also possible that the degree to which a candidate's spots contain or do not contain media metaphors may be correlated with voter response. This is a possibility which needs further study. Future research should also investigate other types of television spot messages (e.g., those for various product types, public service announcements, promotional spots for upcoming programming on a network, etc.) to determine the bereadth of uses made of media metaphors in "selling" a

variety of goods and services beyond candidates for public office.

An example of a DuKaKis/Bengtson spot which did contain skillfully developed media metaphors was one entitled"Drugs: 1982." It is described in detail below:

> The spot opens with the numerals, "1982" on the screen. The announcer's voice says, "In 1982, George Bush was made responsible for stopping drug traffic into this country." as the "1982" dissolves to a newspaper headline which reads, "Bush to Head Offensive Against Drug Smugglers." This shot dissolves to a series of quick-cut edits which are accompanied by sound effects meant to replicate the sounds of a 35 mm. slide camera as it is being automatically and quickly advanced: "zip. . .bzz..click." The first "slide" is of the numerals "1988." The announcer's voice says, "What Happened?" The next cut reveals a pile of cocaine bundles seized in a raid. They are labeled as evidence. The camera zooms in on several of the bundles as the announcer continues, ". . .Drug traffic up 300%. . ." There is a cut to a shot of two adolescent boys on the steps of a tenement. They have cut lines of cocaine onto the cover of a school notebook. One is getting ready to snort a line. The announcer's voice says, "More drugs in our classrooms. . ." as the camera zooms in on the rolled paper tube which one youth is holding to his nostril. This shot cuts to an unfocused b/w photo of General Noriega sitting on a sofa. He is smiling. There is a low table in front of him with coffee or drinks on it. The announcer says, ". . .and Panamanian drug lord, Noriega is kept on the payroll. . ." The camera pans left to the other end of the photo, and on the sofa we see a smiling, out-of-focus, but still recognizable, George Bush sitting there. This shot cuts to the words "The Bush Record on Drugs." chyroned on the screen as the announcer says, "And that's the Bush record on drugs." The screen dissolves to a composite of three still shots--Bush and Noriega, The two boys on the tenement steps ready to snort cocaine, and the bundles of seized cocaine. The Bush/Noriega Shot is centered on the top half of the screen. The other two shots are centered side-by-side on the bottom half of the screen.

The announcer says, "And now George Bush wants to put Dan Quayle. . ." A freeze-framed shot of Dan Quayle during the debates "wipes" onto the screen from above. The picture is accompanied by a "clunk" sound effect. The words "Vice Presidential Debate, October 5, 1988" are chyroned on the screen under Quayle's head. The frame "unfreezes," and we see and hear Quayle say "I'm going to be coordinating the drug effort." He is "refrozen" as the announcer continues, "If George Bush couldn't handle the job, how do you think Dan Quayle's going to do the job?" A small Dukakis/Bengtson disclaimer appears beneath Quayle's frozen image. The screen goes black.

Here, the audio and visual interest messages are interesting and underscore the verbal script in metaphoric ways. Consider Figure 4 below:

Figure 4

Verbal Script / Audio/ Visual Script	"1982" & Headline	"Drug traffic . . .schools	Noriega Payroll	Quayle & stment	"How will Quayle?
Headline	Cell 1	Cell 2	Cell 3	Cell 4	Cell 5
35 mm. automatic advance	Cell 6	Cell 7	Cell 8	Cell 9	Cell 10
Seized Cocaine	Cell 11	Cell 12	Cell 13	Cell 14	Cell 15
Kids Snorting	Cell 16	Cell 17	Cell 18	Cell 19	Cell 20
Bush With Noriega	Cell 21	Cell 22	Cell 23	Cell 24	Cell 25
Composite	Cell 26	Cell 27	Cell 28	Cell 28	Cell 29
Quayle "clunk" wipe/ freeze	Cell 30	Cell 31	Cell 32	Cell 33	Cell 34
Disclaimer	Cell 35	Cell 36	Cell 37	Cell 38	Cell 39

Clearly, there are many more possibilities for media metaphor formation in this spot than in those in the "Packaging of George Bush" series. This difference is more dramatic when we consider that there are only a few facts in the "1982" spot in comparison with the earlier series and that it focuses on only a single issue--drug control. The

potential media metaphors which can be inferred from the spot are:

1. The use of four year-old newspaper headline may create a metaphor cuing the audience to be prepared for a "Media Expose'"especially when tied to the initial discursive statement about Bush's 1982 assignment and his failure in correcting the problem.
2. This expose' or "Inside Story on Bush and Drugs" metaphor is heightened by the sound effect of the 35 mm. camera being utomatically advanced. It is associated with potentially damaging or embarrassing photoes usually featured in scandal sheets or with photoes of fast-breaking action. When coupled with the edits to the slides of stacks of bundled and labeled cocaine and the black and white photo of Bush and Noriega, which is badly focused and grainy, reinforces the "Inside Story" metaphor.
3. The slides of teenagers snorting cocaine and the zoomed close-up of the youth with the rolled up paper tube create a visual metaphor of "Drug Dangers" for the audience.
4. The slide of Quayle which awkwardly "klunks" into position on the screen metaphorically "says" something like, "Ineptitude Personified."
5. Editing Quayle's discursive statement to, "I'm going to be coordinating the drug effort. . ." interacts with the ineptitude metaphor to yeild a combined meaning of "Mishandled Drug War." Quayle may make things worse; in fact, he may even assist the drug kingpins with his ineptitude.
6. The only camera movements which have media metaphoric possibilities are the zoom in on the boy with the paper tube which may cue "A Closer Look" metaphor and the pan left on the Bush/Noriega black and white photo. This pan creates a metaphor which says that the viewer will now get "The Whole Story"

Clearly, this ad has not only much more lvisual interest than the "Packaging" series, but it also has much more potential for cuing "media metaphors" from the audience. As a result the spot is easily understood and may

be more memorable and effective as a result. It was atypical of DuKaKis/Bengtson negative television spot ads.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the ability of "Media Metaphors" to use non-discursive material to prompt out complex and even sophisticated meaning from viewers of television spot advertisements is clear. The presence of such media metaphors in some of the negative spot advertisements of both parties in the 1988 Presidential Campaign is also clear. As a tool of analysis or criticism which can reveal hitherto unnoticed and unanalyzed symbolic meaning in electronic media messages, the Media Metaphor concept and methodology should be extended to determine their value in deconstructing meanings in product and ideologically oriented spot announcements as well as in politically-oriented spots.

Endnotes

1. My own model for analyzing political television spot announcements ("The Media Metaphor" Charles U. Larson, "Media Metaphors: Two Models for Rhetorically Criticizing the Political Television Spot Advertisement."Central States Speech Journal 33. Winter, 1982. pp. 333-348)

was rejected by two separate editors of the Quarterly Journal of Speech because, they said, political commercials did not contain enough discourse to warrant analysis or criticism by our field.

2. Hedrick Smith, "The Power Game: The Presidency." Corporation for Public Broadcasting and Maryland Public Television: 1988, Philip Burton Productions, Part IV. (broadcast January 5, 1989, WTTW, 9-10 pm., Chicago, IL.).
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. "Talk Show: The Politics of Television Politics." Channels. February 1989, p. 84.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
8. "Positively mad about the negative." The Chicago Tribune October 11, 1988, Section 1, p. 22.
9. NBC television documentary special entitled "Campaign Practices." The special featured media expert Tony Schwartz, Dan Rather and Leslie Stahl. The comment on the effectiveness of the ad was based on a New York Times public opinion poll taken in late October.
10. "Well, So Much for Subtlety. . ." Newsweek October 17, 1988. p. 34.